



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

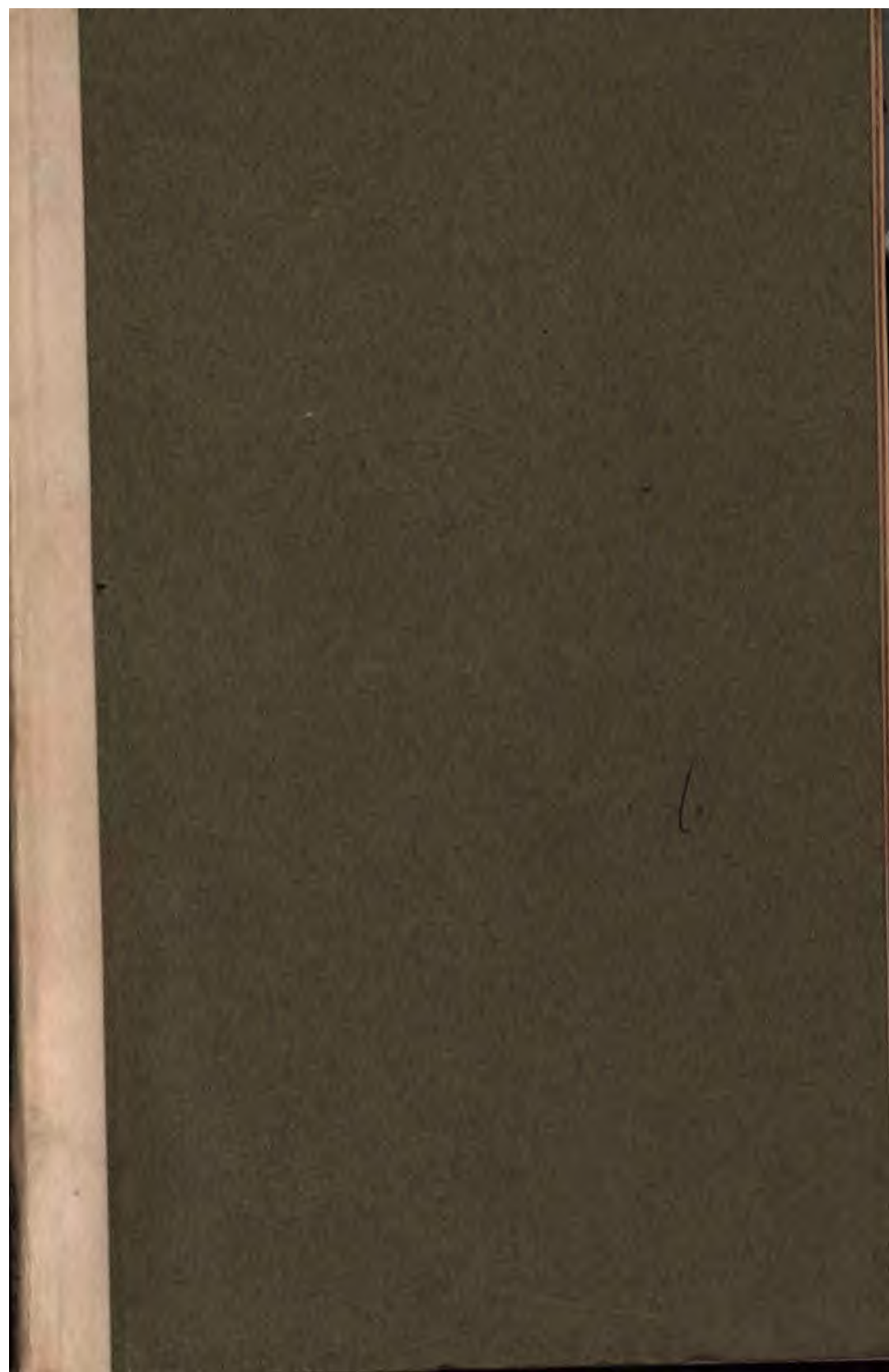
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





600044029P

2275 d. 2

LETTER

TO THE

ELECTORS OF STROUD,

ON THE

PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORM ACT,

BY

LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

MDCCCLXXIX.

2278-1-2



LETTER.

GENTLEMEN,

HAD I been apprehensive of the loss of your good opinion, from the assiduous attempts to deprive me of it, I should have found, long before this time, abundant reasons for addressing you.—More than a year ago, the Political Union of Birmingham endeavoured, by printed misrepresentations, to induce you to declare that I had lost your confidence, and that it ought to be transferred to a disciple of their own school of politics. Soon after this, the Anti-Slavery Delegates sent a special mission to induce you to disturb the course which I had thought it my duty to take, as the member of a Government and of a Parliament whose faith were pledged by their own recorded acts.

Besides these formidable bodies, a gentleman of some talents for mischief, has lately undertaken the task of persuading you that his unfitness to remain in the commission of the peace is a proof of his fitness to become your representative.

These repeated efforts however have had, as I am told, scarcely a perceptible effect, and I should not think it worth while to interrupt the duties in which

I am engaged, for the purpose of removing illusions which your own good sense must dispel.

Another, and as I think, more cogent reason, induces me to address you. The public mind is shaken by disputes and urged on by declamation relating to the Reform Act. From that Act your electoral privileges are derived. Upon that Act the present constitution of the House of Commons is based. To that Act, seven years ago, the general and willing consent of the country was given. Before it is repealed, and especially before it is exchanged for a scheme hitherto indefinite and unexplained, it seems to me desirable that some one connected with the introduction of that plan of Reform, and who still adheres to its principles, should place the whole matter before those who will have ultimately to decide upon the important question, whether it is to be set aside as an experiment which has totally failed, and a new scheme of Representation set up in its place; or whether we may not found upon the Reform Act the amendments and improvements which all institutions from time to time require?

I have put the question thus, because, on the one side, the present Ministry and their friends have never pretended that amendments of the details of the Reform Act might not from time to time be required; and, on the other hand, it is obvious that nothing but a total failure of the endeavour then made to substitute representation for nomination,

would either persuade or justify the people of England in commencing a new struggle for the sake of a change of so extensive a nature as those that have been lately proposed to us.

It is not necessary, for my purpose, to place in the front of the argument the declaration made by Lord Grey and Lord Althorp, the organs of the Government in the two Houses of Parliament, that the Reform Bill was intended as a permanent settlement of a great constitutional question. On this head I may say a few words hereafter ; but for the present I address myself to your position, and not to mine, and I wish you to consider, unconnected as you are with all that occurred previous to the enactment of the Reform Bill, whether it is for your interest and that of the country in general,—whether it will tend to the prosperity of trade and industry,—whether it will promote that general sense of security, without which, no progress in wealth can be made,—whether it will promote the stability of those Institutions to which the great majority of us still cling,—to commence a new agitation for the sake of some new kind of Representation.

In discussing this, the first question upon which I shall touch, it will hardly be denied, I presume, that there are some Acts of a far more important nature than others, and that the Bill of Rights and the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland ought not to be altered so lightly as a law regulating the sale of beer, or fixing the districts for petty sessions of the peace. Of the former kind, for instance, is the

Act of Succession to the Crown of these realms.— Suppose some one had said, in 1722, “King George is ignorant of our language; he has no experience of a free government; no knowledge of this country; he has sanctioned the Septennial Act; the people are greatly discontented; it will be better to change the dynasty.” It would surely have been sufficient answer, without discussing the personal merits of the Sovereign, to say, “The Act of Settlement is a very recent Act; the succession was a matter of great difficulty, and attended with imminent danger of civil war; we have happily seen it established: let us now, for a time at least, try if we cannot be happy and free under the House of Hanover.”

Or, let us take a more homely illustration. —Go to a gentleman who has lately repaired his house; shew him a plan for altering the whole of it, with a number of finished drawings, and a beautiful view of the south front,—he may very probably say, “Many thanks, my good sir; but a few years ago, at great expence, and with much trouble, I had my house completely repaired; it has been greatly enlarged—new rooms have been added: for two years I could hardly sleep for the noise of the workmen. If I am to begin again, and to make, as you propose, the plan of my house Grecian instead of Gothic, I shall not know peace or comfort for the rest of my life: I must decline your obliging offer.”

Thus it is with many great as well as minor

matters. Thus it is that although many persons think the Roman Catholic Relief Act faulty in some of its provisions, and that the prolix oath it imposes, might well be exchanged for a simple oath of allegiance, and although many others are of opinion that the Act has done great mischief, and not fulfilled the expectations held out by its promoters, yet there is no party which proposes in Parliament either the repeal, or any considerable alteration of that Act. Thus it is also that no one proposes to pull down Buckingham Palace, or to rebuild Regent Street on a new plan, though many an architect is ready with drawings and elevations, to shew how we might improve the comfort, and increase the beauty both of palace and street.

Yet it may be, after all, that the Reform Act is so full of defects, that it is based on principles so false, that it has so entirely failed in securing representation to the people, that we ought to begin anew, and to lose no time in declaring to the world that the experiment has failed. For the purpose of forming an opinion upon this question, it will be advisable to consider what was the ancient scheme which was overturned, and what are the principles which pervade the Reform Act of 1832.

In proposing a reform of the representation of the people it always appeared to me, that there were two things to be proved; the one was, that the Members of the House of Commons did not

individually represent the people; the other, that collectively, they did not speak the sense of the people.

Had the first branch of this argument failed, there was an end of the question. But it did not and could not fail; on the contrary, it was admitted that peers and other proprietors, named without controul, at their own caprice, a great proportion of the Members of the House of Commons. Accordingly, when I once moved for a committee to ascertain the facts respecting the nomination boroughs, Mr. Canning said it was unnecessary, the guilt was admitted; the facts alledged were not denied.

There remained, however, the other portion of the question, Did the House of Commons virtually represent the people? For if the people were in effect represented, why should sober men resort to an extensive change merely to introduce a theoretical improvement from which no practical advantage was to be derived?

It was therefore necessary to shew that in fact, the decisions of the House of Commons were not in conformity with the general sense of the people. In order to do this, I contrasted the votes of the small borough members, with those of the representatives of counties and large cities upon several important questions. The result was, that the known representatives of the people were in direct opposition to the majority of the House of Commons.

Thus cautiously did it appear to me necessary to proceed in laying the foundations for a change so important, and so pregnant with consequences of future felicity or woe.

These considerations were likewise deserving of deliberate attention, when a plan of Reform was at length to be proposed to Parliament by the authority of the Crown. Nomination was to be replaced by representation, and the House of Commons was to be so modelled, as in future to be deserving of the confidence, and a mirror of the sentiments of the people. With this view, there were several leading questions to be considered. They were,

I. The places by which Members were to be returned.

II. The franchise which was to entitle electors to vote.

III. The mode of election.

With respect to the first of these questions, there were several courses open to us:

1. To retain all the boroughs, entitled by law to return members, admitting the inhabitants to vote.

2. To take one member from a certain number of boroughs, leaving one to be returned in the former mode.

3. To abolish only a few of the nomination boroughs.

4. To divide the country into districts of equal population.

5. To disfranchise a considerable number of boroughs, and give their share in the representation to large counties, and populous commercial towns.

1. The objection to the first of these plans, which had been suggested a short time before the dissolution of the former Ministry, was that it would give the right of returning Members to a number of small decayed villages which could not have furnished a sufficient body of electors—Not only Gatton and Old Sarum, but such places as St. Mawes and Higham Ferrers would have been in appearance as absurd, and in practice as corrupt, as any parts of the old system. This plan, moreover, would have left no room for the entrance of the great marts of industry and wealth, without a large increase of the numbers of the House.

2. The plan of taking one Member from 100 boroughs had been since 1822 proposed by myself, as a plan respecting ancient right, and at the same time admitting the modern realities of the country. But it would have left nomination boroughs to struggle with their new partners from Manchester and Leeds, without any other defence than an abandoned theory and a weakened title. Besides, that which was expedient in 1822, was no longer expedient in 1830. The stream had been dammed up till it had swelled to an inundation.

3. The plan of abolishing only a few of the smaller boroughs was liable to nearly the same

objection as the first plan. When an architect begins to uncover the timbers of an old building, he often finds so many of them unsound, that he is obliged to take away much more than he originally intended :—So it was with the small boroughs : it was generally supposed that only a few could deserve utter disfranchisement ; but no such scheme would have satisfied public expectation, or could have had a chance of permanency.

4. The plan of removing the entire edifice of our representation and re-forming it anew, had been proposed by Lord Durham in 1821. Notwithstanding such high authority, when a Reform Bill was to be proposed with the sanction of the Crown, and under the responsibility of Government, this scheme was liable to serious, and as I think, fatal objections.

Let us suppose, for instance, as the exact numbers are not of importance, that two Members were allotted to every 50,000 of the population

The first difficulty that occurs is, that the Metropolis would send upwards of fifty members. Nor could this number be diminished by any allegation that the inhabitants of London were inferior to those of any part of the country in wealth or intelligence. Yet the representation of the capital although exceedingly just in the moderate proportions in which the Reform Bill sanctioned it, could not have been carried to the supposed extent without obvious disadvantage.

In speaking of such a plan Lord Grey spoke of it

as "the revision of the whole constituent body of the kingdom, and division of the country into departments, a mode which is liable to the greatest possible objections, to objections of such a nature that I will not trouble myself or your Lordships by attempting to enumerate them."*

But although Lord Grey very wisely abstained from enumerating objections to a plan which neither he nor his hearers thought of proposing, it is worth while now, when anomaly and inequality are so vehemently complained of, to state some of the objections to regularity and uniformity in a scheme of representation.

It must strike every observer, even if the ground had been clear, that in a country where there exists every variety of interest, every diversity of profession, where wealth is not confined to one class—the landed, manufacturing, or commercial,—where ingenuity has done its utmost,—and civilization is so extremely artificial; that it is nearly, if not altogether impossible by one uniform plan, to give an adequate representation of the nation at large. What more different than Dover, Canterbury, and the country between them? Would they be satisfied to form one department?

It was another and still more obvious objection to such a plan that all the towns in the country, except the largest, would have been diluted into the country around them. If inequality was to be

* Hansard, October 3, 1831.

remedied, Northampton, Warwick, Southampton, Chichester, &c. &c. would have lost their distinctive character, and the minority of such towns would have been converted into a majority by the aid of the country gentlemen and farmers of the neighbourhood. If equality was to be the rule, if Dartmouth and Richmond were not to return Members alone, so neither on such principles could Dorsetshire or Lincolnshire submit to be outweighed by towns of 10 or 12,000 inhabitants—if numbers alone were to be considered, why should Devonshire, with 450,000 people, have no more representatives than Halifax and Wigan with 50,000? Yet had this equal division been adopted, Bridport, inclosed in a part of Dorsetshire, would probably have sent a Tory country gentleman in the place of Mr. Warburton, and the department of Lincoln would have replaced Sir Edward Bulwer by one who would have harmonized better with the Tory part of his constituents.

I see, that it is supposed by some that the large and moderate sized towns might keep their Members, leaving to the counties only their present share in the representation; but if inequality is to be abolished, the new principle to be put in its place must be pushed to its conclusion—the landed interest must be allowed to benefit if they are compelled to suffer by its application.

The proposal of such a scheme, therefore, would have been met by the resistance of nearly all the old boroughs returning Members to Parliament.

But let us ask a further question. What are the requisites you seek for in a representation of the people? That the wants and the wishes, the interests, and the opinions, the intelligence and the virtue of the nation may be fairly, freely, and fully represented.

To many a man this may seem a very easy task. He would cut the country into squares, or circles, or oblongs, giving a certain amount of population to each portion, and fixing the franchise as his taste, or philosophy might direct. The task would not be accomplished. It will be granted to me, I trust, that the knowledge and the intelligence of those most remarkable for knowledge and intelligence ought to be represented. But it may very well happen that while your division into districts secures representation to landed proprietors, to wealthy manufacturers, to eminent merchants, to busy and active popular leaders, it will exclude the eminent barrister who has given his time and labour to reach the eminence of his profession; to the political economist who has neither riches to buy votes, nor eloquence to attract them; to the gallant officer who is better known to his country's enemies than to the club or committee who furnish candidates for parties and districts. This would be more particularly the case in times of strong popular excitement, when nothing but wealth, local influence, or long established political character could weather the storm. The consequences would be serious. The House of Commons, though com-

posed of able and stirring men, would not obtain the respect of the more intelligent part of the country. Men would look in vain for several of those leading counsel in our courts of law, those distinguished admirals, those gallant generals, those able writers, whose name has given a lustre to the House of Commons, and made the eyes of all turn towards it as the depository of what was able, and eminent, and distinguished in law no less than in politics, alike in war, in letters, and in commerce.

I have drawn no fanciful picture. The House of Representatives in the United States is a direct representation of a great people; it is a body frequently renewed, and speaking as the organ of a nation, who admit no sovereign or superior; still it is the ambition of every man of ability to be a Member of the Senate; travellers who go the United States, all return impressed with the gravity, the eloquence, the knowledge of business which prevail in the Senate; citizens of the United States are far more proud of their Senate than they are of their House of Representatives.

You see therefore that it is not enough to have frequent elections—a most extensive suffrage—and even secrecy of vote to secure the first place in the regard and respect of a free Nation.

Let us now look at home, and see whether some of the circumstances to which I have alluded may not apply. The House of Lords has very little resemblance to the American Senate—but it has

two circumstances in common with it, and which are in some degree cause and effect. Its Members have greater permanence than the Commons, and it attracts within its sphere many of the ablest men in the nation: in law the office of Chancellor makes this inevitable—in war, ‘a peerage or Westminster Abbey’, was the aspiration of a great commander. Look at the Lords’ Debates of the present day:—the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Cottenham, Lord Denman, Lord Abinger, Lord Ripon, Lord Wharncliffe, Lord Fitzgerald, all had seats in the House of Commons, and have esteemed it an honour to be transferred from thence to the House of Lords.

Now it is a principle not to be neglected, that constitute these assemblies as you may, the display of great talent in debate, the authority of a great name, the lustre of arms, and the weight of long experience bring with them, in calm and quiet times that power of opinion, which, according to an Italian author is “the Queen of the world.” Let us examine of what elements some parts of this opinion consist. In a country such as England now is, there are thousands of men who do not call themselves politicians, but who nevertheless are acute political observers. One may be employed all the morning in literary history, another planning a new railway, a third writing to his mercantile correspondents at New York, a fourth arguing a cause in a court of law. Yet to all these men

the newspaper has its attractions—the last debate has been a matter of interest, and it is not because his business lies elsewhere, that the man of speculative or practical ability is the less qualified to judge of those who discuss and decide on the interest of the Nation. To these men as well as to the people in general, an appeal lies. We can no longer have an awful Senate, even if we desired it—the Reporters in the gallery unveil the mystery of Government, and the House of Commons must rely upon its own qualities for maintaining public respect. If then it were found that the whole tone of debate was unworthy of the occasion, that the talent out of the House despised the talent within the House; that men of wit and men of business saw among them the most eminent men of the Nation, unable or unwilling to sit in the House of Commons, neither its popular title nor its well won privileges, nor its mighty authority would prevent it from sinking in public estimation. But if you add to this, that it would have to contend in the presence and perhaps in rivalry, with a House of Lords, which according to Mr. Roebuck,—no partial witness—has a moral influence in the Country, you would expose the House of Commons to a gradual process of sinking, from which it could only rescue itself by some desperate struggles, in the course of which its natural strength and vigour might more easily enable it to pull under water its more favoured companions, than to keep itself buoyant

on the stream. For these reasons among others, a division into departments seemed to me liable "to the greatest possible objections."

5th. The plan proposed took away about 150 seats from the smaller Boroughs ; totally abolished more than 50 of these Boroughs, and distributed the larger portion of these seats among the great counties, and populous towns of the United Kingdom.

The first recommendation of this plan, in the eyes of the country, was that it entirely destroyed those nomination Boroughs which made the representation a by-word among the people.

It was remarked also that while it had this obvious advantage, it also retained to the greater part of the representation which remained the benefit of prescription. I remember Sir James Mackintosh speaking to me one day of a class of writers of the school of Mr. Bentham, said : "They all argue in favour of utility, and against prescription; but they forget that prescription is also a part of utility."

When the object was to make a change, great in extent and practical effect, without loosening the frame of society, it was a matter of no light importance that the greater number of places which were thereafter to send members, should be the same to which the eye was familiar, and of which the sound was known, and whose claims had long been recognized by the King's writ, and the statutes of the realm. It is to this probably that we owe the very early reconciliation of the numerous and

powerful opponents of Reform to the system by which that Reform is established. Had we left considerable towns irritated by disfranchisement, the seeds of complaint and dissatisfaction would have been left in the ground to grow up into noxious weeds upon our soil.

It was another and more obvious merit that while so much respect was shewn to prescription, the new claims of wealth and commerce were not overlooked. When reform was first seriously urged towards the close of the American War, the prevalent notion among Reformers was that a large addition should be made to the Knights of the Shire. It was in opposing such a reform that Lord North said, with his usual wit and good humour, "While some with Lear are for one hundred Knights, and others with Goneril for fifty, I say, with Regan, 'What need of one?'"

But since that time the importance of our manufacturing districts had rapidly and wonderfully increased. Their absence was, therefore, a prominent blot in our representative system, and which the enemies of Reform had to the last refused to remove.

The following places connected with Trade and Commerce obtained a share in the Representation by the Reform Act.

Manchester.

Birmingham.

Leeds.

Sheffield.

Sunderland.

Devonport.

Wolverhampton.

Bolton.

Bradford.	Blackburn.
Halifax.	Stroud.
Macclesfield.	Oldham.
Stockport.	Stoke upon Trent.
Ashton under Lyne.	Bury
Dudley.	Frome.
Gateshead.	Huddersfield.
Whitehaven.	Whitby.

Metropolitan Districts.

Greenwich.	Marylebone.
Lambeth.	Tower Hamlets.
Finsbury.	

II. The next point of main importance was the right of voting. Here, as in the former question, the Reform Bill kept in view the ancient principles of the Constitution, and the rights established by prescription, rather adding to those ancient rights the new claims of the present age than sweeping them all away, to put in their place either a fanciful model, or a copy of some foreign constitution.

The 40s. freeholder was retained in counties, but the copyholder of 10*l.* a-year, and the leaseholder for a long term were allowed the franchise to which the similarity of tenure, or the amount of interest entitled them. The distinction between a permanent estate as a qualification for voting in counties and occupation with residence for voting in cities and boroughs was preserved in the first Reform Bill. No one denied to the new electors for

counties the validity of their claim. ⁺ With respect to cities and boroughs, ancient legal authorities and the celebrated Glanville Committee had affirmed, that when not otherwise defined or restricted, the right of voting was and ought to be in resident householders paying scot and lot. But the character of the householder which had formerly been synonymous with that of an independent burgess had greatly altered in the lapse of time. And in many of our boroughs the mere potwallopers were among the lowest and most venal electors.

⁺ The limitation to occupiers of houses and warehouses of the value of 10*l.* a-year was therefore at once in conformity with ancient principle, and the lessons of recent experience.

The franchise indeed was objected to by the opponents of the Bill, as carrying too low the possession of the elective trust. The general view entertained by them of the franchises retained and conferred, may be gathered from the following extracts, from the protest of the House of Lords, signed by the Duke of Wellington, the King of Hanover, the Duke of Gloucester, sixty-four other peers, one archbishop, and six bishops.

“A preponderating influence in the election of the House of Commons is conferred upon the lowest class of inhabitants in towns—thus virtually closing the doors of the House of Commons to the vast monied and colonial interests, and leaving but

few opportunities of admission to the heads of the great commercial body."

"The landed interest, notwithstanding the professed intention of giving to it an increase of representation, commensurate with that given to the great towns, is left exposed, even in the elections for counties, to the influence of the trading and manufacturing classes of the very places which are themselves to return Members to Parliament,—an influence so great as must leave in many instances, the representation of counties, and divisions of counties in the power of voters from the towns." Such was the foresight of the opponents of the Reform Bill!

III. The mode of election had been long complained of. Elections in counties lasting fifteen days gave dreadful note of preparation for expense and corruption. One election alone cost £300,000. In boroughs, the practice of paying rates in order to qualify the scot and lot voters to give their votes was a continual source of bribery. In order to remedy these evils, the Reform Bill provided the means of keeping a Register of Voters, enacted that rates should be paid by the day of registration, instead of the day of election, and afforded facilities by means of which no election in England or Scotland could be prolonged beyond the second day.

Such was the general nature of the Reform Bill. In stating the reasons upon which it was founded, I have given those which were either ob-

viously to be deduced from its provisions, or such as at one time or other influenced my own mind. I do not pretend that every member of the Government which became responsible for it was influenced by the same considerations.

It passed into a law with several changes in its provisions, and some deviations from its original principles. A vote of the House of Commons extended the franchise for counties to 50*l.* tenants at will, on the ground that they were as worthy of the franchise as 10*l.* tenants in towns. This I have always considered an error. If, in order to preserve the difference of tenure between counties and boroughs the 40*s.* freeholder was to be maintained, the 50*l.* occupiers should not have been admitted—if on the other hand, the respectability of this class of persons was to be the ground of admission, then the principle should have been carried to its full length,—for no one could maintain that if occupation were to be the foundation of the right, a 10*l.* occupier in the counties was not as respectable as the 10*l.* occupier in the town. This, however, was a provision introduced by the Commons against the wish of the Ministers; it met a ready acceptance by the Lords, and became a part of the Act.

Another alteration was the retention of the free-men, introduced in order to conciliate some who objected to the first Reform Bill, and obtain support to its second reading in the Lords. Here again was a change for the worse.

If the freemen exercised the franchise corruptly, one of two courses should properly have been taken. The one to disfranchise them altogether,—a proposal in which they at first seemed ready to acquiesce. The other, and perhaps the better course would have been, to have treated the freemen in the same spirit in which other rights had been treated.

The freemen of old evidently represented the toil and the industry—the mechanical skill and trading substance of the communities of our towns: they do so no longer.

It might have been difficult—but it was not impossible to make the freemen the proper representatives of one of the most valuable classes of the community—that of the industrious, intelligent, and able mechanics who abound in our great manufacturing and commercial towns, and some of whom only are now admitted to the right of voting. Such a change in the character of freemen would do much to purify our elections, and strengthen the House of Commons.

Having laid before Parliament the nature and the grounds of this vast change, the Prime Minister, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the organs of the Government, declared in the name of that Government, that it was intended as the permanent settlement of a great constitutional question.—Without disputing on the words, “final measure,” still less on “finality,” which is no term of theirs or of mine, I will give you their reported

words on two or three of the many occasions on which they declared their adherence to reform, and their hostility to perpetual change.

Let us first hear Lord Althorp in the Commons.

“He had every reason to hope, from the satisfaction it had already given, that the change that they had proposed would be permanent. He did not see that any of the grounds that His Right Honourable friend had stated, in order to shew that it would not be permanent, were likely to raise discontent in the country.”

“He had every reason to hope that the Bill would inspire the people with confidence in their Representatives; and if so, they would not call hereafter, as they had called lately, for a large and important change.”*

“Then, as to the permanency of the measure, surely there would be less permanency if a small change only were introduced; and if, as some Honourable Gentlemen hold, the people desire more than this measure, and will not be satisfied, except by going the whole length of Universal Suffrage, this is a tolerably strong argument, that they will not be satisfied with less than the measure now proposed. But it appears to me that the good sense of the people of England will be satisfied when they see that the crying evil of the present system will be then got rid of, and that they will have their proper influence in the representation of the

* Parliamentary Debates, September 21, 1831.

country. I am sure that the people of this country are not so fickle as to give reason to apprehend that when they have no practical evil to complain of, they will still wish for change for the sake of change itself. It has been truly said, that what this country requires is quiet, and a cessation from anxiety and agitation; and I consider this Bill as the most effectual means for attaining that object.”*

Lord Grey.

“ It has been said, that a measure of a more contracted nature than this would have satisfied the people. I doubt whether in such a state of things as the present, this could have been reasonably expected. It seemed to me that permanent contentment could only be produced by a decisive and extensive measure; and the object which the King’s Government had in view, was to produce such a settlement of this long agitated question as might prevent its being brought into renewed discussions in those seasons of distress and difficulty when experience has shewn that it has constantly revived, calling into action all the elements of political division and discontent. It surely was desirable, if this question was to be entered into at all, it should be done in such a manner as to afford a hope that it might be effectually and permanently adjusted.”†

* March 19, 1832.

† Parliamentary Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. viii. p. 334.

Again—

“I felt that the most prudent and safest measure of Reform would be a bold one, because, when I looked at the condition of the country—when I considered how just the claims of the people were—and when, above all, I reflected upon the absolute necessity of satisfying the respectable and reasonable part of the community, in order that thereby the Government and Legislature might be furnished with a ground on which a firm and safe stand might be made in defence of the principles of the Constitution, if ever they should be really assailed,—from all these considerations, I say, I was satisfied that nothing but a bold and decisive measure would give such general satisfaction and content as would set the question at rest.”*

If, after these declarations, any member of Lord Grey's cabinet were to propose to begin the whole question anew, the obvious remark would be, “You have either so egregiously deceived us that we cannot trust to your public engagements, or you have so blindly deceived yourself that we cannot believe in the solidity of your new scheme.”

But it is said that all things are liable to change ; that no human measure is final ; that no supposed engagement ought to stand in the way of the interests and desires of the people. To all this I can readily agree ; as readily as the Welsh curate, when he found his cassock out at elbows, consoled him-

* October 3, 1831.

self with reflecting on the revolutions of empire, and the mutability of the world. A great deal of common-place is thrown away in proving what nobody disputes; the question remains, is it necessary for the good of the people to begin anew the task of reforming the representation of the people?

The only proof that has yet been given of such necessity is the loudness of complaint. But let us mark from whom this complaint proceeds, how it arises, and to what it tends.

Much of this sullenness against the Reform Bill, if not the greater part, arises from those who never were satisfied with its provisions, and only looked upon it as the precedent and promise for future changes.—They are consistent in their desire for a New Reform Bill, though hardly candid in declaring their disappointment at results which they always expected.

Another portion of the discontented consists of those who looked upon the Reform Bill as the epoch of the triumph of the Liberal party, and the extinction of their adversaries. I never entertained such partial expectations nor such unjust desires.

In scanning the general scope of the Bill with Lord Althorp, we always concluded that the Tory party were a party too deeply rooted in the property of the country to be thus destroyed, and that when the warmth of enthusiasm for Reform should somewhat subside, they would have as fair a prospect as any party, of

obtaining a majority in the Reformed House of Commons. We endeavoured to deprive the Tories of their undue power to overbear the opinion of the nation, not to proscribe them should the national voice be raised in their favour.

A third class of the discontented, and a very numerous one, consists of those who expected from reform, what reform could not accomplish. I am no believer in the doctrine,

How small, of all the ills that men endure,
The part that kings or laws can cause or cure.

I think, on the contrary, that many social and moral evils are to be attributed to the institutions of Government, and the laws by which a community is ruled. But laws and institutions must act gradually and generally in order to be beneficial. I have seen a popular assembly decree a democratic constitution which did not give any man a larger share of liberty or security than he had before enjoyed under an arbitrary king. Habits must be changed ; laws must be respected as well as enacted ; the minds of men must be engaged to a willing conformity with the new order of the State.

I am persuaded that the Reform Act is working gradually a great and useful change.—That change, to be permanent and extensive, must not destroy and extinguish, but alter and improve the Tory party. It was one of the worst effects of the borough system that it separated the power of the

ruling party from connexion with the people. Since it has been overthrown the members of the defeated party have been endeavouring to carry the people with them. These attempts have been alloyed by the old vices of the borough system—intimidation—corruption—and flattery to prejudices rather than address to reason. But as the people rise higher in the scale those who court their support most adapt themselves to their improved character. The means of influence will be elevated in proportion to the intelligence and self-respect of those to whom they are addressed.

I am sorry to see that many are influenced by the present state of parties in the House of Commons, and look no farther than to such a change as may again give the Liberal party a triumphant majority. The question really is, whether public opinion in England entitles them to a triumphant majority. That it entitles them to a larger proportion than they now have, I cannot, seeing the bribery and intimidation employed at the last election, entertain a doubt. But it is equally clear to me, that opinion on public affairs is at present very much divided, and that a House of Commons which should contain, in 1839, no greater a number of the Tory party, than the Whigs had in the unreformed Parliament of 1829, would as unfairly represent the people as the unreformed Parliament then did. The efforts of the Clergy to persuade the country that the measures of the

present Ministry respecting the Church of Ireland, and respecting Church rates, would shake and ultimately destroy Church property have had a considerable effect on the public mind. The violence of language used by some Reformers, and the natural inclination of mankind, after a powerful exertion, to pause before any further effort is made, have tended to inaction and quiescence. To this is to be added the innate strength of the Tory party, which, as Lord Bolingbroke truly observes, enables it to rise again after the most severe falls—the Clergy with their six millions of revenue diffused into every parish—the country gentlemen with their influence as men of property—as magistrates—and as residents on their estates—a considerable portion of the higher aristocracy—the professions of Army and Navy, as well as Church and Law, stocked during sixty years with the friends and followers of a Tory Government, all these things act in a quiet time, and when there is no one stirring question to induce men to forego their interests, and oppose their connexions.

Then again, it is said, when the means of carrying a new Reform Bill are questioned, that an excitement equal to that which carried the Reform Bill would be again raised by an announcement of Household Suffrage, Ballot and Triennial Parliaments.

I very much doubt the fact. Let it be remembered how strong that feeling was—so strong that

in spite of the menaced disfranchisement of more than 150 seats, and the transfer of power from the patrons of many larger places, the old unreformed House gave on a dissolution a majority of upwards of 100 to the Ministry of Lord Grey. Is it expected that Sir William Molesworth's administration could obtain a similar result in the Reformed Parliament? I do not believe it—I am of opinion that on such an appeal as that of 1831 the popular feeling would be against the new Reform Bill. After the exertions then made the practical sense of the people is against a new agitation and a fresh suspension of the business of the country. The worst of all legislation for the tradesman and the farmer is that which disturbs the market, and spreads unceasing and undefined alarm.

Let it be remembered also that the enthusiasm in favour of the Reform Bill extended to all classes, agricultural, mercantile, and manufacturing. The necessity for a change is now urged very much on the ground that a repeal of the Corn Law might thereby be obtained. But the very cry which is your strength with one part of the country will be your weakness with another. It is as if a quack should invite every one to take a specific against drowsiness. The drowsy man might be induced to buy; but the patient who suffered from sleepless nights would throw the physic to the dogs.

But supposing a new enthusiasm could be awakened, I am not ready to stir the cauldron from which so potent a charm could be extracted.

Of the numbers who require large changes many look to a new scheme of Representation for other purposes than those of good Government, and with expectations which cannot be realized.

Of the working classes who have declared their adherence to what is called the People's Charter, but few care for Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, or Annual Parliaments. The greater part feel the hardship of their social condition; they complain of their hard toil and insufficient wages, and imagine that Mr. Oastler or Mr. Fielden will lead them to a happy valley, where their labour will be light, and their wages high. They know not the general laws by which profit and wages are regulated. They conceive that the tyranny of the rich is the cause of their depressed condition.

A new Reform Bill, whether the suffrage were Household, or Universal, would do nothing towards the cure of evils which belong to a populous country, and varying employment. But the excitement of a new change; the passions again raised; the House of Commons again in the furnace to be melted in a new mould; the people again in the temper which burst out in flames at Nottingham and Bristol, would go far to shake the stability of property, and make Law the servant of Disorder. The happy consummation of a labouring class toiling little and earning much would be further than ever; the security to be enjoyed in Germany or Swit-

zerland would attract capital and diminish employment at home ; the deluded might indeed wake from their dream at length, but too late for their peace.

The Reform Act was carried under the auspices of Lord Grey, assisted by statesmen long used to power, and able to weigh their proceedings. That weight of authority carried along with it a large proportion of the House of Lords, and the dispassionate Reformers throughout the country. But for a new Reform Bill opposed by a majority in the House of Commons, and five-sixths of the House of Lords, no such authority could be invoked. It would be menace, and the multitude ; unknown leaders dictating to intelligence and property ; an attempt at Reform, but sure to end in confusion.

A Magistrate in Wiltshire in an address to his labourers, lately issued, put the case of a capital of 30,000*l.* invested in a work which employed 1000 workmen, and asked whether if each were to obtain 30*l.* a piece, and the work to be abandoned, their condition would be improved.

But even this is more than the unfortunate victims would probably obtain. Of a capital of 30,000*l.* now employed in manufactures, it is probable that three-fourths would be destroyed, or wasted by a revolution against property.

It is said that upon these subjects the Ministry are in accordance with the Tories, and that the

doctrine of Sir Robert Peel can hardly be that in which a Reformer ought to agree.

Surely resistance must commence somewhere ; and wherever it does commence, those who call themselves Conservatives, must vote with the party of resistance.

Let us suppose a general election at which Mr. Grote should be placed at the head of the poll in the City of London, and that his friends and partisans should have such a majority as to induce the Crown to form a Ministry in which he should be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the Ministerial party in the House of Commons. In such a House we should probably have motions made to deprive holders of sinecures of their life incomes ; to reduce the dividend to the national creditor, and other plans of similar tendency,—Mr. Grote, with his strong sense of justice, and his knowledge of the true principles of public faith, would oppose all such schemes. Sir Robert Peel would ably support the Minister, and I should humbly aid in the same cause. But then we should have the Ministry receiving the support of the Tories ; deserted by their own friends among the extreme Radicals, and the country brought to that lamentable and unexampled condition, in which, according to the opinion of those extreme politicians, there would be “neither a Liberal Ministry, nor a Liberal opposition.”

There are doubtless many defects in the Reform Act which require to be remedied. The £10 fran-

chise is too much fettered by regulation ; the annual registration is made a source of vexation and expence ; the freemen might be made the pride of the working classes instead of their opprobrium. But changes such as these, introduced when the public mind was prepared for them, and the proposals had been duly weighed, differ entirely from the proposal to found a new Reform Bill on the basis of Triennial Parliaments, Household Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot.

We are desired to take these changes together.— I told you at my election not to expect that I should vote in favour of Ballot. I have expressed in Parliament the opinion that Ballot alone would not satisfy the people at large. Some rebuked me for mixing two questions altogether distinct ; and some among my friends voted for Ballot, determined not to consent to an extension of the suffrage. It was with some satisfaction, therefore, that I saw in the *Morning Chronicle*, of March 25th of the present year, this manifesto :—

“ Our first point of union is the Ballot. But the Ballot, combined with the present limited franchise, and in the present, which is likely to be the permanent, temper of the disfranchised, would be an unendurable anomaly. It would aggravate the existing breach between the middle and the working classes.”

Indeed ! I entirely agree in this opinion. I believe if Ballot could be made effectual, those who have no votes would be far more discontented than

they now are. Ballot is suited to an absolute Government of the few, or a free Government where the suffrage is universal.—The absolute aristocracy of Venice used it in its perfection ; the people of the United States use it—it accords with their principle “ that the majority is to govern.” The will of the people of the United States is supreme ; it has no check ; and every one shares in the sovereignty. But for the middle classes of this country to pretend to an irresponsible and secret power over the destinies of the country, would be, as the *Morning Chronicle* says, “ *an unendurable anomaly.*”

But then Household Suffrage—on your principle you do not go far enough. Will the non-householders be satisfied ? Are the working classes, not householders, ready to submit to their entire exclusion in favour of the householders ? Will they not exclaim against the partiality ? Will they not join in demanding that, with Vote by Ballot, Universal Suffrage is the only tolerable scheme ?

Moreover, these words, Household Suffrage, do not explain the plan. Is the country to be divided into departments ? If the middle sized towns are still to send members, Household Suffrage and Ballot will make them sinks of corruption. If not, will they bear to be swamped in the surrounding country ? Before the people are excited to throw aside the Reform Act, these questions should be answered.

When it is said that the Reform Bill has been barren of fruit, I must ask you to reflect on the fol-

lowing short list of measures, passed into law, or sanctioned by the Crown, since the passing of the Reform Act.

1833.—Bill reducing ten Bishops in the Church of Ireland, and abolishing Church Cess in that country.

Abolition of Slavery in the colonies of Great Britain and Ireland.

Trade with China thrown open.

1834.—Poor Laws Reformed ; a measure of vital importance to the present and future generations.

1835.—Municipal Corporations subjected to popular election and control.

1836.—Dissenters allowed to marry according to their own forms and doctrines.

General Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

Tithes Commuted for a rent-charge, on terms useful for agriculture, and equitable to the clergy.

1837.—The Session interrupted by the death of William the Fourth ; still, the Criminal Law was improved, and capital punishments greatly reduced.

1838.—Irish Poor Law.

Irish Tithe Act.

To say that those who have passed all these measures since the 1st of January, 1833, have been doing nothing, may be a favourite assertion of Ultra-Tories and Ultra-Radicals ; but it is surely as strong a perversion of fact as party violence ever broached.

Let us add to these measures—

Taxes reduced not less than six millions.

Commercial Treaties signed with Austria, Turkey, &c.

The affairs of Belgium amicably arranged by the allied endeavours of Europe.

Peace maintained, and the influence of England upheld in every quarter of the globe.

And when these results are weighed, it may well be asked, whether the Reform Act has justified either the forebodings of that party which represented it as fatal to peace, order and security; or whether it confirms the invectives of those who regard it as a total failure, and ask you to attempt some other scheme, not as a more complete and satisfactory settlement, but as the commencement of a series of experiments upon our Constitution, of which the end is veiled in gloom and obscurity.

Although I must leave many parts of the subject untouched, yet there is one, so closely connected with the operation of the Reform Act, that I should be wanting in frankness, were I not to allude to it. I mean the conduct of the House of Lords.

Mr. Canning was accustomed to put as a difficulty in the way of Reform, the question.—“What will you do with the House of Lords?”

This difficulty would have scarcely been felt had not Mr. Pitt and Lord Liverpool altered the character of that body. Before their time five new peerages were sufficient for half a reign. But with that disregard of all respect for the con-

stitution which distinguished their administrations, they admitted to the House of Lords, hosts of persons remarkable chiefly for their adherence to the Minister of the day. Besides this twenty-eight peers were added from the peerage of Ireland, who represent only the stronger party among the peers of Ireland, just as one hundred peers of the United Kingdom, chosen by the Peers, would represent the stronger party among the Peers of the United Kingdom.

By such means the voice of the House of Lords became the voice of one party, predominant at the time, an evil which to all appearance nothing could remedy but a similar excess at another time, in favour of the party then predominant.

The Reform Bill was carried by an expedient less justifiable. The private Secretary of the King wrote a letter to the Peers in opposition, requesting their absence from the House of Lords, while a bill of the highest importance to the country was passing through its various stages ; a precedent of the highest danger, which nothing but the respect felt by both parties for the person of the Sovereign, could have induced them to permit.

Since the Reform Act passed the difficulty foreseen by Mr. Canning has been felt, but, till latterly, in no aggravated shape. For a time the Government forbore to press upon that body measures conflicting with their known opinions. For a time the genius and wisdom of the Duke of Wellington

have kept within their entrenchments the superior forces which serve under his command. But year by year the Commons grow more impatient at the frustration of measures on which they have laboured for many a weary night—which contain nothing revolutionary or intemperate—and which are dispatched before dinner by some thirty peers, who without reading the bills, and without listening to explanation, mar the fruits of a session. Year by year also the Lords, strong in their numbers, grow more and more eager for increased boldness of attack, and for decisive battle. The Duke of Wellington has now a harder task than that which he performed in the vigour of his age. I have seen that great man, at the head of an army which panted for action, decline victory, and look to the success—not of the day, nor even of the campaign—but of the war. In these civil campaigns, however, the right wing is not led by so prudent and discreet a second as Lord Hill; and the light troops are continually attempting to hurry on a general action.

With these dispositions the superiority of the Lords in all matters of government may one day be asserted, or England may no longer bear the double sway of Government in one House, and opposition in the other. Who are in that case to give the victory? Evidently the people of the United Kingdom. The House of Commons must carry their mea-

asures by popular support, or be dissolved and give place to an assembly more congenial to the Lords.

In this state of affairs it has been my wish that the Commons should ask, not only for what was right in itself, but what the people would feel to be right. For instance, could we have contended longer for the Appropriation Clause? With a small majority in the Commons with us, the people of England were not favourable, and the people of Ireland had grown indifferent. The only effect of protracting the struggle would have been that many an unfortunate farmer would have been yearly sent to prison, some lives would have been yearly sacrificed, some clergymen yearly suffered great distress, and the tithes would in the end have been paid by the landlord, without the deduction of one-fourth of their amount.

The same may be said of other questions, on which the public mind is divided, or perhaps averse to measures that have been proposed.

But when certain measures of temperate amendment in our laws have the assent of the Commons and of the Country, it is quite just that the proposers and advocates of such improvements should be called upon to gain the assent of Parliament to them. Otherwise men will be driven in despair to become partisans of more extensive changes, which while they will be more popular will not appear at all more impracticable. Such is the danger of the course now pursued by the Lords, and such the

prospects before them. If they cannot be persuaded to adopt even such amendments of the Reform Act as to give a little further time to the rate-payer for the payment of his rates, if they cannot assent to any correction of the abuses of registration, and the defects of registration courts, if they cannot agree to give to Ireland the same municipal privileges as England, they will force many of those who have supported the Government in such plans to say that what has appeared to the Lords too much, is in their eyes too little.

This is a temper which I should be sorry to see prevail. Nor will it prevail if men of large property and moderate views among the Lords can agree in such a course of action as may satisfy fair expectation, and give to the country the spectacle of the two Houses labouring patiently and harmoniously to improve our defective legislation.

I know very well that it is a source of foolish triumph to some, to be able to say at the end of a session, "See how little these Ministers have done! Two-thirds of their measures have been rejected!"

The country will ask in the end, whether these measures were useful, and if so, why they have been rejected. They will enquire who they are, that have misused the power of legislation, to indulge a party spleen, and those on whom that charge justly rests, will be the losers in the conflict.

But I have already detained you too long. I have not had time to arrange and condense what I wished to address to you. But it has appeared

to me of urgent importance that the next steps to be taken, should not be taken without due reflection. I have found it impossible to express in any more usual form the sentiments which I entertain. It is for you to ponder seriously, in the spirit of that true Whiggism which has always animated you, on the dangers of the time, and the means by which they may be averted. I am persuaded you will not think of lifting the anchors of the monarchy while the signs of a storm are black in the horizon. I am convinced that you will not, in a moment of disappointment, deface the work which you have made. Great changes in law and government often make themselves more felt, as the distance of time, at which they were established, becomes more remote. Who can doubt that the subjects of George the Third enjoyed more fully the benefits of the Habeas Corpus Act than our ancestors did seven years after its enactment? I trust therefore you will persevere in upholding the Reform Act, and seek to derive from it its sure and fruitful results, rather than exhibit to the world a new warning against popular reforms, and give a new argument to the enemies of all popular institutions.

THE END.

IMPORTANT PAMPHLETS, &c.
ON
CANADA, THE NAVY, &c. &c.
PUBLISHED BY RIDGWAY.

I.

In 8vo. price 7s. bound in cloth,
THE EARL OF DURHAM ON CANADA.

II.

Price 5s. bound in cloth,
LORD GLENELG'S DISPATCHES TO SIR F. B. HEAD, Bt.
During his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada,
Abstracted from the Papers laid before Parliament.

III.

THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.
REMARKS ON THE DISPUTED NORTH-WESTERN
BOUNDARY OF NEW BRUNSWICK,
Bordering on the United States of America, with an Explanatory Sketch, by
Major P. YULE, Royal Engineers. Second Edition, price 1s. 6d.

IV.

THE CANADIAN QUESTION,
By G. A. YOUNG, Esq. Barrister-at-Law.—Price 2s. 6d.
“If we were able to go back to the elements of States, and to examine the oldest monuments of
their history, I doubt not that we should discover the primal cause of the prejudices, the habits,
the ruling passions, and, in short, of all that constitutes what is called the national character.”
De Tocqueville.

V.

LORD COLLINGWOOD.
SELECTION FROM
THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF
VICE-ADMIRAL LORD COLLINGWOOD;
INTERSPERSED WITH MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE,
BY G. L. NEWNHAM COLLINGWOOD, ESQ. F.R.S.
Fifth Edition, containing some New Letters, in two volumes, 12s. boards.

VI.

A LETTER TO THE EARL OF MINTO IN REPLY TO
THE FLAG-OFFICER,*Pointing out a sure Defence for our Coasts, &c. at all times.*

BY ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

Second Edition, with Additions, price 2s.

VII.

A LETTER TO SIR JOHN BARROW, BART. ON THE
SYSTEM OF WAR AND PEACE COMPLEMENTS
IN HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS.

BY THE HON. CAPT. BERKELEY, R.N.—Price 1s.

VIII.

THE RUSSIAN FLEET IN THE BALTIC IN 1836 ;

With some Remarks intended to draw attention to the Danger of leaving
our Navy in its present extremely reduced state.

By H. W. CRAUFURD, Commander in the Royal Navy.—Second Edition, 1s.

IX.

THE CONSERVATIVES OF OUR WOODEN WALLS AND
SHIPPING,AGAINST ANY ENEMIES WHATEVER, RUSSIAN, FRENCH,
STEAMERS, OR ROCKETS.—2s.

X.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE
STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THE NAVY IN 1838.

BY CAPTAIN G. SMITH, R.N.

XI.

STATE OF THE NAVY.

CORRECTED REPORT of the SPEECH of CHARLES WOOD, Esq. M. P.
SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY,

On Moving the Navy Estimates in Committee of Supply, March 4, 1839.

ON BANKING.

I.

THE BANK CHARTER. DIGEST OF THE EVIDENCE

Before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, in 1832, on the
RENEWAL OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND CHARTER;
Arranged, together with the Tables, under proper heads, with Strictures, &c.

By THOMAS JOPLIN.—1 vol. 8vo. 14s.

"Thus the Report is not only much abridged, without the omission of any essential fact, but it is reduced to a methodical form, and rendered of easy reference."—*Times*, March 25.

II.

BANK OF ENGLAND CHARTER.—8vo. 8s. 6d. boards. AN ANALYSIS AND HISTORY OF THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

With the Origin and Growth of Joint Stock Banking in England, &c.

By THOMAS JOPLIN.

"It contains such a masterly exposition of the Currency Question, in all its shapes and bearings, and is conveyed to the reader in so comprehensive a form, that the task of perusing it is any thing but that which is generally apprehended by those who are desirous of perfectly understanding this important subject."—*Mark Lane Express*.

"We must pronounce this to be, on the whole, an admirable work. There is no work yet put forth so clear."—*Campbell's Metropolitan Magazine*.

III.

BANKING.—In Octavo, 7th Edition, price 6s.
**THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES AND PRESENT PRACTICE
OF BANKING IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND;**
With Supplementary Observations on the steps proper to form a PUBLIC
BANK, and the System on which its Accounts ought to be kept.

BY T. JOPLIN.

IV.

THE SCOTCH BANKER. By THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq.

Second Edition. 8vo. 5s. 6d.

Contents—Lord Goderich and the Country Bankers. The Prices of Wheat, and the Metallic Currency. Things as they are. A few Facts. Things as they might have been. Famine. Scotch and English Bankers. Anticipation of the late Panic. Anticipation of the new Bank Restriction Act.

IMPORTANT
WORKS ON THE CORN LAWS,
&c. &c.

I.

THE MAINTENANCE OF THE CORN LAWS ESSENTIAL
TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE.

By the Right Hon. LORD WESTERN.—Second Edition. Price 1s.

II.

THREE ADDRESSES TO THE LANDOWNERS OF ENGLAND
ON THE CORN LAWS,

By EARL FITZWILLIAM. Third Edition, 1s. 6d.

A cheap edition for Distribution may be had in any numbers.

III.

CORN AND CURRENCY ; in an Address to the Landowners.

By the Right Hon. Sir JAMES GRAHAM, Bart.—New Edition, 4s. 6d.

IV.

FREE TRADE IN CORN,
THE REAL INTEREST OF THE LANDLORD AND THE TRUE
POLICY OF THE STATE.

BY A CUMBERLAND LANDOWNER.—3s.

V.

STATE AND PROSPECTS OF BRITISH AGRICULTURE,
Being a Compendium of the Evidence given before a Committee of the
House of Commons on Agricultural Distress.

By WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. M.P.—2s. 6d.

VI.

FIRST AND SECOND REPORTS, from the Committee of the House of Lords,
ON THE GROWTH, COMMERCE, AND CONSUMPTION
OF GRAIN ;

And all Laws relating thereto ; together with the Evidence on Oath.

Second Edition, 10s. 6d.

VII.

REPORT, from the Select Committee of the House of Commons,
ON THE CORN LAWS OF THIS KINGDOM;
With the Evidence, and an Appendix of Accounts.
Second Edition, 10s. 6d.

VIII.

VIEWS ON THE SUBJECT OF CORN AND CURRENCY,
By T. JOPLIN.—4s. boards.

IX.

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED
KINGDOM ON THE CORN LAWS.
Price 1s.

X.

THE EFFECTS OF THE IMPORTATION OF WHEAT
UPON THE PROFITS OF FARMING.
ADDRESSED TO AGRICULTURISTS.
By HEWITT DAVIS, Land Agent.—Second Edition, price

XI.

THE SUBSTANCE OF LORD HOWICK'S SPEECH ON THE CORN
LAWS.—Price 1s. 6d.

XII.

LORD BROUGHAM'S SPEECH ON THE CORN LAWS.—Price 1s.

XIII.

TWO LETTERS OF W. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, ESQ. addressed to
the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, on the CORN LAWS.
Price 6d. and 1s.

XIV.

SIR FRANCIS BLAKE, BART. on the CORN LAWS, the PEOPLE'S
CHARTER, and the HOUSE OF LORDS.—1s.

XV.

SENIOR'S LETTERS ON THE CORN LAWS.—Price 1s. 6d.

XVI.

REASONS FOR NOT REPEALING THE CORN LAWS.
By JOHN BROADHURST, Esq.

NEW WORKS

ON

Botany, Horticulture, and Agriculture.

I.

DR. LINDLEY'S BOTANICAL REGISTER; OR, ORNAMENTAL FLOWER GARDEN AND SHRUBBERY.

Publishing the First of every Month, price 3s. 6d.

Each Number contains finely-coloured Portraits, from life, of the handsomest Flowering Plants and Shrubs grown in this country, accompanied by their History, Treatment in Cultivation, Propagation, &c., much useful, scientific, and literary information.

Each Volume may be had separately, price £2. 9s.

* * All the numbers which were out of print are now reprinted.

"This Series, placed under the superintendence of Professor Lindley, comes forth with increased splendour of illustration, and increased accuracy of description. The present number contains many plants and shrubs of extreme beauty, delineated and coloured, so as almost to rival the tints of nature, and bestow perpetuity on her loveliest, yet most transitory, productions. The letter-press, in addition to the ordinary information, as to the habits, mode of culture and organization of the plant, occasionally introduces points of vegetable physiology, or observations respecting its economical uses, which possess much interest."—*Athenæum*.

"The Botanical Register, from containing most or all of the new plants introduced by the Horticultural Society, from the great care with which its plates are executed, and the judicious remarks on culture and general habit, by Dr. Lindley, is, in consequence, the superior publication."—*London's Magazine of Botany, &c.*

"Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon this work."—*Horticultural Cabinet*.

II.

ORCHIDACEOUS PLANTS.

Complete in Four Parts, in imperial 4to price 30s. each, coloured, and 15s. plain,

PART THE FOURTH.

THE GENERA AND SPECIES OF ORCHIDEOUS PLANTS.

By JOHN LINDLEY, Ph.D. F.R.S. L.S. G.S. &c. &c. Professor of Botany in University College, London. Illustrated by Ten Drawings on Stone, from the Sketches of FRANCIS BAUER, Esq. F.R.S. L.S. and H.S.

* * The FOURTH and FIFTH PARTS of the Letter-press to the Genera and Species of Orchideous Plants, comprising part of the OPHRYDEÆ, is now ready, price 5s. 6d. and 3s. 6d.

Part I. price 7s., Part II. 2s. 6d., and Part III. 7s. are on sale.

III.

LADIES' BOTANY.

By DR. LINDLEY, Editor of the *Botanical Register*, *Fossil Flora of Great Britain*, &c. Fourth Edition. Two Vols. 8vo. with numerous illustrative Plates, 16s., and finely coloured, 25s. each.

"We consider it quite needless to recommend this work: it must find its way into the library of every lady, and it ought to be in the coat pocket of every young gardener."—*Gardener's Mag.*

"Let it be known—let it be introduced into every library, reading-room, and seminary, throughout Britain; let it become the class book of botanical study."—*Horticultural Register*.

N.B. AN ABRIDGMENT of this beautiful Work, illustrated with Wood-cuts, for the Use of Schools and Young Persons in general, is in the Press, and nearly ready for delivery, price 12s. bound in cloth.

IV.

THE FOSSIL FLORA OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Or, Figures and Descriptions of the Vegetable Remains found in a Fossil State in this Country. By JOHN LINDLEY, Ph.D. F.R.S. L.S. and G.S. &c. and WILLIAM HUTTON, F.G.S. &c. In 3 vols. £6. 12s.

"This excellent work has now reached the eighteenth number, and, as we understand, draws near to its completion. The numbers contain about ten plates each, which are carefully drawn, and beautifully engraved. The plants are named and described; their analogies to existing species pointed out; their localities indicated. When the number of plates, and their accuracy and beauty is considered, its price is very moderate,—the charge for the whole, as far as it has gone, not much exceeding four pounds. It is the first work in which any account approaching to completeness of the Fossil Flora of Great Britain has been given. * * * To the Geologist it is indispensable. The Botanist must find it instructive; and to all liberal and enquiring minds it presents interesting matter for reflection, as a record of extinct races of organized bodies, throwing light on the state of the Globe myriads of years before man existed. * * *"—*Scotsman*, Oct. 7, 1835.

"This curious and interesting volume. * * * In truth, it may be considered as a geological annual."—*Athenæum*, on the First Volume.

"This work is an important contribution to the science of British, and, indeed, of universal geology; and we trust, will be so patronized by the scientific men of our country, as to cause it to be proceeded in with spirit and satisfaction by its authors and proprietors. * * * The preface is a rich and valuable essay on Fossil Botany."—*London's Magazine of Natural History*, &c.

V.

DR. LINDLEY'S SERTUM ORCHIDEUM,
A WREATH OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL ORCHIDACEOUS FLOWERS.

To be completed in 20 Parts, at 25s each, splendidly coloured.

Subscribers are respectfully informed that Part V. is now ready for delivery.

Part VI. is in a forward state.

VI.

To be completed in Ten Parts, elephant folio, price £2. 2s.

Only 125 copies will be published.

THE ORCHIDACEÆ OF MEXICO AND GUATEMALA.

By JAMES BATEMAN, Esq.

Note.—This will not in any respect interfere with the splendid "SERTUM ORCHIDEUM," preparing by Dr. Lindley. The same Species will not be figured in the respective Works.

VII.

HERBERT ON BULBS, ETC.

Just published, in royal 8vo. 48 coloured plates, 25s. or coloured 38s.

AMARYLLIDACEÆ.

Followed by a Treatise on Cross-bred Vegetables, and Supplement.

By the Hon. and Rev. W. HERBERT.

"In Mr. Herbert's Monograph of Amaryllidaceæ, the cultivator will find a multitude of invaluable directions as to the proper management of that beautiful tribe of plants; and what renders such remarks the more acceptable to the horticultural world, is their being invariably the result of long personal experience. The memorandum upon the habits and consequent treatment of Phycella, may be taken as an example."—*Bot. Reg. note 1943.*

"It is the most scientific, and at the same time the most practical work on this department of practical botany that ever issued from the press. By practical botany, I mean the labours of the cultivator, blended with the researches of the botanist. Every page and suggestion is replete with practical and scientific information."—*London's Gardeners' Mag. June 1, 1837.*

VIII.

SECECT ORCHARD AND FRUIT GARDEN.

BY THE FIRST AUTHORITY.

In Three Volumes, Royal Octavo, illustrated by 152 Plates, coloured to equal Drawings, Price £10. bound in cloth, gilt leaves,

The POMOLOGICAL MAGAZINE; or beautifully finished Coloured Figures and Descriptions of the most important Varieties of Fruit worthy of Cultivation in this Country, for the Dessert and Culinary purposes; with such Information resulting from successful Practice as may tend to improve Cultivation; pointing out the best or most proper Aspects, Situations, &c.

"We cannot too highly recommend this work, as valuable to consult in the choice of fruits, and beautiful to look upon."—*Literary Gazette.*

"This is one of the most pleasing publications that we have met with. * * * * The various specimens of the fruits given are coloured, and exceedingly well executed."—*Morn. Herald.*

IX.

SECOND EDITION.

One volume, royal 8vo. with Eighteen coloured Plates, 21s. cloth boards,

ROSARUM MONOGRAPHIA;

Or, a BOTANICAL HISTORY of ROSES. To which is added, an Appendix for the Use of Cultivators, in which the most remarkable Garden Varieties are systematically arranged; with Nineteen Plates, Eighteen beautifully coloured. By JOHN LINDLEY, Ph.D. F.R.S. L.S. &c. &c.

X.

SWEET'S BRITISH FLOWER GARDEN.

Second Series. Complete in 4 vols. price £15. 15s.

XI.

SWEET'S GERANIACEÆ.

Now complete, in Five Volumes, each containing One Hundred beautifully-coloured Figures of the choicest and most distinct Species and Hybrid Productions of this greatly admired Tribe. From this Work may be selected a collection of the sorts most suited to the taste of any Lady or Gentleman, who wishes to make one of this beautiful Family. Price £3. 3. each Vol.

XII.

In Two Volumes, royal 8vo, with coloured Plates, price £7. 7s. cloth boards,

THE FLORIST'S GUIDE,

Giving Practical Instructions for the Proper Management and Cultivation of the various Florist Flowers, especially Tulips, Ranunculus, Auriculas, Hyacinths, Carnations, Pinks, Roses, &c. with Directions for raising new Varieties from Seeds; illustrated by Coloured Portraits of 200 Flowers. By ROBERT SWEET, F.L.S.

XIII.

SWEET'S CISTINEÆ.

An Account of the Family of CISTUS, or Rock-Rose; illustrated by 112 handsomely-coloured Figures, and Descriptions of this handsome and generally admired Tribe of Plants, with Descriptions of the other Species that could not be obtained; and a full account of the best Method for their Cultivation, Propagation, or any thing else belonging to them, considered of importance. One Vol., royal 8vo. Price £4. 4s.

XIV.

Second Edition, One large Volume, Octavo, 21s., bound in cloth.

SWEET'S HORTUS BRITANNICUS. Being an ACCENTUATED CATALOGUE or DICTIONARY of every PLANT (Exotic and Indigenous) either known or cultivated in Great Britain; arranged according to the Natural Orders to which they belong: with the addition of the Linnæan Class and Order to each Genus; the whole brought down to the present time. By ROBERT SWEET, F.L.S.

"It certainly is the most complete and useful Catalogue that has yet appeared, as, in one line, it gives the systematic and English names, where described, of what country it is native, the year introduced, the months when in flower, whether hardy or tender, its duration, and reference to the books in which it is figured; and where any names have been lately changed, a synonym is given in Italics, to shew what it is changed from. It also contains nearly double the number of Plants contained in any other Catalogue that we have seen; so that, on the whole, we believe it could not have been more complete. In our opinion, the arrangement according to the natural system is far preferable to that of an artificial one, particularly for cultivators; and on this account the present work should be in the hands of all gardeners and cultivators of plants; and the reference to the figures will also render it very useful to the botanist."—*Gentleman's Mag.*

XV.

Complete in One Volume, royal 8vo. price £2. 9s. bound in cloth boards.

FLORA AUSTRALASICA.

By ROBERT SWEET, F.L.S.

Illustrated by Fifty-six elegantly coloured Figures, of the most beautiful and curious Plants, Natives of New Holland and the South Sea Islands, generally called Botany Bay Plants. They are well adapted for a Greenhouse, or Conservatory; and many will survive the winter, in the open ground, with a very little protection.

XVI.

Sixth Edition. 16s. cloth boards.

SWEET'S HOT-HOUSE AND GREEN-HOUSE
MANUAL;

Or, BOTANICAL CULTIVATOR: giving full practical Instructions for the Management of all the Plants cultivated in the Hot-houses, Green-houses, Frames, and Borders in the Gardens of Great Britain; with Plain Directions for the Management of Bulbs and Plants in Rooms, &c. By R. SWEET, F.L.S. Practical Nurseryman.

"Indeed, what Mr. Sweet has said on the Culture of Bulbs and Epiphytes, in the first edition of his Botanical Cultivator, may be considered as the *ultimatum* on this subject for the British Gardener."—*Gardener's Magazine*.

XVII.

In 8vo. with Plates and Plans, 6s., or 9s. finely coloured,

THE LANDSCAPE GARDENER;

Comprising the History and Principles of tasteful Horticulture.

By the Rev. Prebendary DENNIS.

"But taste, like every other quality of the mind, may be nurtured into excellence; and Mr. Dennis has shewn himself well qualified for the task of unfolding it, and to use the phrase of the celebrated Landscape Gardener of the last century, with whose name he is familiar—making the most of its *capability*."—*Horticultural Journal*.

"The present work abounds with original observation, and is well worthy of a place by the side of the most esteemed publications on the principles of Landscape Gardening."—*Horticultural Journal*, second notice.

XVIII.

Dedicated to the Patrons and Patronesses of Village Schools.

A CATECHISM OF GARDENING,

Intended for the Use of Village Schools and Cottagers, containing plain and brief Directions for cultivating every kind of Vegetable in common use.

BY AN OLD PRACTITIONER. Second Edition, Enlarged, 1s. 6d.

"This is a cheap little work, and far better adapted for its avowed purpose than any of the tracts which have preceded it. The small type and closely-printed page of the Catechism show that the author is perfectly serious in his wish to extend a knowledge of Horticulture to the humblest classes of Society."—*Loudon's Gardener's Magazine*.

"This is not only a useful, but a cheap publication, and excellently adapted for its use."—*Analyst*.

XIX.

HORTUS WOBURNENSIS.

The FLOWER and FRUIT GARDENS, PLEASURE GROUNDS, &c. &c.
at WOBURN ABBEY, the SEAT of the DUKE of BEDFORD.

By JAMES FORBES, A.S.L. C.M. H.S. &c. Principal Gardener at Woburn Abbey.

Illustrated by numerous Views, Plans, &c. 1 vol. medium 8vo. 21s.

A few copies are printed on royal paper, for such of the Nobility as may desire them. Proofs £2. 2s. Ditto, coloured, £2. 12s. 6d.

"The plan of this Work is good. . . . We can recommend Mr. Forbes's Work to our gardening friends, as a useful publication."—*Athenæum*, December.

"We would only remark, that the mode of heating by hot water, in use at Woburn, is far more successful than we ever saw it at any other Garden."—*Horticult. Reg.*

XX.

In 8vo. 5s. 6d. or royal 8vo. 7s.

HORTICULTURAL TOUR

Through GERMANY, BELGIUM, and part of FRANCE, in the Autumn of 1835, with a Catalogue of the different Species of CACTEÆ in the Garden at Woburn Abbey. By JAMES FORBES, A.L.S. &c.

"Among the interesting works recently published, we may place this volume. We have read with some pleasure much that we have marked for future extract. Our readers cannot do better than consult the work itself, which is a neat octavo volume, and contains an appendix of general interest to the cultivators of the Cacti family."—*Gardener's Gaz.*

XXI.

ARBORETUM ET FRUTICETUM BRITANNICUM;

Or, the Trees and Shrubs of Britain, Native and Foreign, Hardy and Half-hardy, with their Propagation, Culture, Management, and Uses in the Arts. The whole forming a complete Encyclopædia of Arboriculture. By J. C. LONDON, F.L.S. &c.

This splendid work is now complete in 8 vols. the Plates beautifully coloured, price £25. 5s.

XXII.

LABIATARUM GENERA ET SPECIES;

IN EIGHT PARTS,

Or, a Description of the Genera and Species of Plants of the Order Labiæte, with their General History, Character, Affinities, and Geographical distribution. By GEORGE BENTHAM, Esq. F.L.S.

This part completes the Work, and contains General Introductory Matter, Conspectus Generum, &c. &c.

XXIII.

ROGERS' FRUIT CULTIVATOR, &c.

Or a Practical and Accurate Description of the best Species and Varieties of Fruit, with plain Directions for Planting, Training, Forcing and Pruning, &c.

THIRD EDITION, price 6s.

"Directions are given for planting, pruning, training, the formation of Fruit-Tree Borders and Orchards, the gathering and storing of Fruit; in a word, everything which can be desired is handled in a plain instructive manner, in such a way as a practical man alone is capable of doing it."—*Irish Farmers' and Gardeners' Magazine*.

"It remains only to say, that we think Mr. Rogers has here produced a most valuable practical work, which deserves to be in universal use; and which adds to its other recommendation that of cheapness."—*Gardeners' Mag.*

XXIV.

In post 8vo. 2s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. bound, with gilt leaves.

OUTLINES OF BOTANY,

WITH HINTS FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF A SMALL GARDEN.

By R. B. STEWART, Esq.

"This is the easiest and most simple Introduction to the Linnæan arrangement of plants that has yet been published. All that is necessary for a child or a mere novice to prepare either for the understanding or enjoyment of the artificial system is contained in about twenty pages. The definitions are all short and clear, the distinctions between the 7th and 16th, the 10th and 17th, the 6th and 15th, &c. classes, are very cleverly stated, and all the real difficulties of the System, such as tyros find them, are intelligibly explained away. A table of genera and one of species will be found useful to the self-instructor in Botany, and to the parent who would direct the attention of his children to flowers, for they are selected from plants which in this country may be found within a few miles of any man's dwelling. There are, also, plain directions for preparing *Hortus Siccus*, in illustration; and some useful hints for the management of a small garden in London, which appear to us likely to lead to results more important than the work professes to attain."—*Atlas*, August 23.

XXV.

TO AMATEURS OF FLOWERS.

In 1 vol. price 7s. 6d. coloured, in cloth,

THE FLORIST CULTIVATOR;

Or, Plain Directions for the Management of the principal Florist Flowers, Shrubs, &c. adapted to the Flower Garden, Shrubbery, and Greenhouse; with Select Lists of the finest Roses, Geraniums, Carnations, Pinks, Auriculas, Polyanthus, Tulips, Dahlias, Heartsease, Cistus or Rock Rose, &c. To which is added the Monthly operation usual for the Flower Garden, Shrubbery, and Greenhouse. The whole arranged on a plan different from any Work hitherto published. By THOMAS WILLATS, Esq. Amateur Cultivator.

XXVI.

LAMBERT'S GENUS PINUS.

In Two volumes, royal octavo, beautifully coloured, price £12.

N.B. Only three copies remaining unsold.

AGRICULTURE.

I.

THE BRITISH FARMER'S MAGAZINE,

(QUARTERLY,)

Price Three Shillings each Number.

"The practical and enquiring farmer can have no better manual of reference than this useful publication, which treats on subjects connected with all the various branches of Agriculture."

* * A few complete sets of the first Series, in 10 vols. have been perfected, and may now be had neatly half-bound, 17s. 6d. each vol.

II.

IMPROVEMENT OF MEADOW AND PASTURE LANDS.

HORTUS GRAMINEUS WOBURNENSIS,

Or, an Account of the Results of various Experiments on the Produce and Fattening Properties of different Grasses, and other Plants, used as the Food of the more valuable domestic Animals; carried on for a number of years at Woburn Abbey, by command of the Duke of Bedford, and being now matured, are presented for the benefit of the Agricultural community. Illustrated with numerous Specimens of the Plants, and Seeds, in Forty Plates; with Practical Observations on their natural habits, the Soils best suited to their Growth, with Instructions for the Preservation of their Seed; pointing out the kinds most profitable for Permanent Pasture, Irrigated Meadows, Dry or Upland Pasture, and the alternate Husbandry. Accompanied with the discriminating Character of the Species and Varieties. To which is now added, the Weeds of Agriculture. By G. SINCLAIR, F.L.S. and F.H.S., Gardener to his Grace the Duke of Bedford, &c. &c. Fourth Edition. Price £1. 10s. coloured.

"The Hortus Gramineus Woburnensis does honour to our country."—*Monthly Critical Gazette.*

III.

DOMESTIC POULTRY.

Third Edition, greatly improved, and enlarged with Wood-cuts of the different Coops, Fattening Houses, Roosting Houses, &c. &c.

A PRACTICAL TREATISE on the BREEDING, REARING, and FATTENING all kinds of DOMESTIC POULTRY, PRESERVATION of EGGS, &c. Dedicated to LORD SOMERVILLE.

By JAMES MAIN, F.L.S. F.A.S. &c. &c.

IV.

DAIRY HUSBANDRY.

The HARLEIAN DAIRY SYSTEM; and an Account of the various methods of Dairy Husbandry pursued by the Dutch. Also a new and improved mode of Ventilating Stables, with an Appendix, containing useful hints (founded on the Author's experience) for the management of Hedge-row Fences, Fruit Trees, &c. and the means of rendering Barren Land fruitful. By WILLIAM HARLEY, founder of the celebrated "Willowbank Dairy, Glasgow." In 8vo. 8s.

V.

REPORTS of the COMMITTEE of the DONCASTER AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATION,

On the ADVANTAGES OF BONES AS MANURE, price 2s.

On MANGEL WURTZEL, AS A FALLOW CROP, 6d.

THE TURNIP FLY, the means of its Prevention; founded on Returns received from upwards of one hundred Gentlemen farming in England and Wales. Price 2s. 6d.

VI.

ON THE NATURE AND PROPERTY OF SOILS,

And the best means of permanently increasing THEIR PRODUCTIVENESS, and on the Rent and Profits of Agriculture. By JOHN MORTON. Price 8s.

VII.

Price One Shilling.

HODGES ON DRAINING.

The use and advantages of Pearson's Draining Plough, by THOMAS LAW HODGES, Esq. M.P.

VIII.

Price 3s. 6d.

ON UNDER-DRAINING WET AND COLD LANDS.

By ROBERT GREEN, Farmer.

IX.

Price Five Shillings.

ON THE MANAGEMENT OF HEAVY AND WET LANDS, WITHOUT SUMMER FALLOWS.

By THOMAS GREY, Esq.

X.

Price 3s. 6d.

ON IMPROVED SHORT HORNS AND THEIR
PRETENSIONS STATED.

By the Rev. HENRY BERRY.

XI.

Price Three Shillings.

TRIMMER ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF WOOL
AND SHEEP HUSBANDRY.

XII.

Price Four Shillings.

EARL STANHOPE ON SHEEP FARMS.

XIII.

Price 1s. 6d.

WRIGHT ON BREEDING CATTLE AND SHEEP.

XIV.

Price Nine Shillings.

FINLAYSON'S BRITISH FARMER AND
PLOUGHMAN'S GUIDE.

XV.

GROUSE, PARTRIDGE, AND PHEASANT SHOOTING.

Third Edition, post 8vo. 7s 6d, with Plates.

THE OAKLEIGH SHOOTING CODE;

By THOMAS OAKLEIGH, Esq.

Comprising the 180 Canons on Shooting Grouse, Partridges, Pheasants, &c.
with numerous explanatory and other Notes.

"We strongly recommend this work."—*Sporting Chronicle*.

"We recommend the volume as one deserving a place in the library with any popular sporting writer."—*Sportsman*.

"Every gentleman, whether young or old, should provide himself with a copy, previous to the ensuing shooting campaign."—*New Sporting Mag.*

"A work indispensable to all sportsmen. The chapter on the training and proper treatment of dogs is admirable."—*Metropolitan Mag.*

"It is destined, we feel confident, to become a standard authority. * * * It ought really to be regarded as a classical work, in so far as grouse, partridges, pheasants, &c. are objects of the shooter's pursuit."—*Monthly Review*.

"Containing such a mass of information relative to shooting, that it ought to be in every sportsman's hands. It is the best thing of the kind extant."—*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*.

"Since the well-known publication of Daniel's 'Rural Sports,' we have seen nothing worthy to be compared with the canons of the Oakleigh Code."—*Essex Mer.*

ON GEOLOGY.

I.

In 8vo. 468 pages, with numerous plates, 15s. cloth.

FAIRHOLME'S NEW GEOLOGICAL WORK.

Containing new and *conclusive* Natural Demonstrations both of the *Period* of the *Mosaic Deluge*, and of its having been the only event the kind that has ever occurred upon the earth. By GEO. FAIRHOLME, Esq.

"This excellent Work should be attentively perused by every person anxious to be convinced of the Geological correctness of the Holy Scriptures."—*Record*.

II.

PHENOMENA OF THE EARTH.

Post 8vo. 427 pages, and Two Plates, 7s. cloth.

THE REVOLUTIONS OF THE GLOBE,

Familiarly Described. By ALEXANDER BERTRAND, M. D. &c. With an Appendix, giving a succinct Account of every Theory, from that of Ray, in 1692, to that of George Fairholme's "Geology of Scripture," in 1833.

"It is one of the most agreeable works we have met with. The object of the author is to convey to the idlest and least learned reader an idea of the wonders of Geology. * * * The surface of the globe is not a new subject; yet see how interesting our author makes it."

—*Spectator*.



III.

MR. ROOKE'S GEOLOGY

As a Science applied to the Reclamation of Land from the Sea, the Construction of Harbours, the Formation of Railroads, and the Discovery of Coal, with a Map of the Granite Formation of the Earth. Price 6s. cloth boards.

IN THE PRESS,

Illustrated with numerous explanatory Plates, price 6s. cloth,

THE PLANTER AND PRUNER'S ASSISTANT

BY JAMES MAIN, A. L. S., &c. &c.

Giving every possible Instruction for the Planting, Rearing, Pruning, and general Management of every kind of Forest Tree; with Practical Hints to the choice of Soil, Situation, &c. &c.





